

**THE HANDS OF HAMPTON:
SLAVERY ON A ST. JAMES SANTEE
RICE PLANTATION**




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METHODOLOGY

Hampton Plantation Files, Charles Towne Landing Office

The South Carolina State Park Service files at Charles Towne Landing were a good resource for background information on the Hampton Plantation historic site. The files contain information on Serré, Horry and Rutledge family lineage and family property, as well as copies of family wills, which contain references to the transfer of ownership of family slaves. Also helpful was an extensive bibliography of secondary sources on slavery and rice cultivation in the South Carolina lowcountry.

South Carolina Historical Society

Several collections at the historical society contain pertinent information on the Hampton families and their slaves. Most helpful were the Pinckney Family Papers, which contain Pinckney and Horry family correspondence, family recipes, and a 1784 bill of sale for Judy, a slave girl. Correspondence between Eliza Lucas Pinckney and her children contains many references to family slaves and specifically references to slaves who traveled back and forth from the Hampton plantation to the family home in Charleston. References to slave illnesses are also included in the letters.

The Harriott H. Ravenel Collection, part of the St. Julian-Ravenel-Childs Family Papers, contains two letterbooks of Harriott Pinckney Horry. These letterbooks did not contain any information useful for this study. However, the collection also includes two travel journals from 1793 and 1815, which contain several references to Horry family slaves and manufactures. Most interesting are references to Isaac, a family slave given a great degree of independence.

The Pinckney-Lowndes Papers, part of the Harriott H. Ravenel Collection, consist of family correspondence between the Lowndes, Pinckneys, Horrys, and Hugers. This correspondence includes letters detailing field work at the Hampton plantation and recommendations for which crops to plant. Especially relevant is a letter from Thomas Pinckney with instructions for rice cultivation and the amount of work contained in a slave task.

For information on the buying and selling of family slaves, I searched the papers of known slave traders. The broker's list book 1853-63 for Alonzo J. White, slave auctioneer, produced no references to the Horrys or Rutledges. However, the Allston Family Papers contain letters to and from Robertson, Blacklock & Company and Robert Allston, who conducted business with the company for the Rutledge family. The collection includes several letters detailing the sale of Rutledge slaves at Harrietta in 1858 after the death of Harriott Horry's daughter Harriott Rutledge.

Information on the medical treatment of slaves can be found in the Baker-Grimké Papers. This collection includes correspondence with Dr. Alexander Garden, who treated both whites and blacks in the Charleston-Georgetown area, including the slaves of the Horry family.

A folder of miscellaneous information on the Hampton plantation contains mainly newspaper articles from the 1930s to the present. Most of the information concerns the acquisition and renovation of the site by South Carolina State Parks, which can be found in the master plan for the site.

Charleston County Public Library

The South Carolina Room of the county library has many bound sources relevant to this study, as well as sources on microfilm, such as church records and census records. Bound sources include a recent collection of St. James Santee church parish records.

These records prove that Horry family slaves were confirmed, or baptized, into the parish church.

Runaway slave ads have been compiled in volumes found in the South Carolina room. These ads are taken from colonial newspapers, which can be found on microfilm in this research room. Perusal of the compiled ads resulted in the finding of two advertisements for slaves which had run away from the Horry family during the colonial period. However, the collection ranges only from the 1730s to 1790; thus, any ads for runaways from 1790 to 1860 can only be found by careful perusal of contemporary newspapers. As such a study is very time consuming, I only searched for runaway ads in issues of newspapers in which I was searching for other information (i.e. family obituaries and land sales). In the absence of an index for antebellum South Carolina newspapers, a careful search for runaways from specific plantations would be largely futile.

Wills and Miscellaneous Records were compiled and indexed by the Works Progress Administration as part of the Federal Writers' Project and can be found at the county library. Most records for the Serré, Pinckney, and Horry families are land records; however, one 1746 bill of sale for 11 slaves from Daniel Horry, Sr. to Daniel Horry, Jr. was found.

Census records on microfilm in the South Carolina room were very useful. These records include population schedules for both the free population and the slaves. The slave schedules do not list the names of slaves, but they are important sources of information for slave demographics. Mortality schedules for 1850 and 1860 were slightly useful for information on slave deaths, but parish records for 1860 do not specify the owners of deceased slaves.

The county library's vertical files on the Hampton and Harrietta plantations contain mainly the same newspaper articles as did the miscellaneous folder at the South Carolina Historical Society. The South Carolina Historical Magazine was also not useful

for this study as most references to the families were merely birth and death notices and facts found in park files.

South Carolina Department of Archives and History

A search of the agricultural and manufactures schedules yielded information on the types of plantation crops and their quantity for the Rutledge family for 1850, the year the schedules began; however, no records for the family were listed in the St. James Santee parish for 1860.

Many various bills of sale for Hampton plantation slaves were found in the miscellaneous sale records on microfilm. Unfortunately, bills of sale seldom mention the age of the slave being sold, but in several instances, kinship ties, such as the sale of a mother and her child, are mentioned.

South Caroliniana Library, the University of South Carolina

The library's Eliza Lucas Pinckney collection contains only three letters, but the Thomas Pinckney Papers are much more extensive. Thomas Pinckney's correspondence includes several letters to his sister Harriott Horry on the management of the Hampton plantation. Especially relevant is an 1822 letter discussing control of the plantation's slaves, many of whom were owned by C. L. P. Horry, who was living abroad.

The South Caroliniana's Rutledge Family Papers are extremely useful for this study. Many references to Horry/Rutledge family slaves can be found in letters to and from Harriott Rutledge, Edward C. Rutledge, and Frederick Rutledge. During the late antebellum period, when the family was often living in Charleston or North Carolina, letters were frequently written detailing instructions for the Hampton and Harrietta slaves in preparation for family visits and, of course, planting season. Much information on the house servants can be found in these letters.

The Southern Historical Collection, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The Francis B. Stewart Collection contains many copies of personal correspondence of the Pinckney, Horry, and Rutledge families. Although the collection includes some useful information not found elsewhere on women's recreation, most of the letters are copies of correspondence contained in the Pinckney Family Papers of the South Carolina Historical Society.

Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress

Although the Library of Congress has much information on Harriott Pinckney Horry's brother Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the letterbooks and recipes listed in their catalog for Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry are -- like the letters of the Francis B. Stewart Collection -- copies of letters and information found in the Pinckney Family Papers of the historical society.

INTRODUCTION:

THE RICE REGION AND ITS SLAVES

The story of the South Carolina lowcountry has always been one of concentration of great wealth in property in the hands of an aristocratic elite. These elite planters -- so-called for the great quantities of crops they planted on their holdings -- enjoyed a life of privilege, but their lifestyle was supported by the labor of hundreds of workers who enjoyed no privilege for their efforts. These laborers were enslaved Africans who lived in squalor and were unable to escape the rigors of the plantation swamps and the constant fear of separation from their loved ones.

In the Charleston District's St. James Santee Parish the slaves toiled on rice plantations throughout the period of rice's reign as the greatest staple crop of the lowcountry. Rice production was so profitable in the late colonial/early national period that a man could rise from humble beginnings to great wealth within his lifetime, and rice planters continually sought to augment their holdings with more slaves and more land. The Hampton plantation, owned by the Horry/Rutledge family, was a fairly typical St. James Santee plantation. Although subsistence crops were grown, the plantation's main crop was rice. In 1850 the Rutledge family holdings, including Hampton plantation, continued to produce large quantities of rice despite a decrease in lowcountry rice's profitability. That year, Harriott Horry Rutledge reported the production of 230,000 pounds of rice on her 400 acres of improved land, and her son Frederick Rutledge reported the production of 360,000 pounds on his 350 acres of improved land. Although 360,000 pounds was about average for the St. James Santee plantations in 1850, a few planters produced much larger quantities. For example, A. Blake's holdings produced

725,000 pounds, and the Nowell plantation produced 673,000.¹ Because successful planters continually added to their holdings and these holdings remained in the same families through many generations, land and the wealth produced from it were concentrated in the hands of a finite number of lowcountry families. William Dusiaberre estimates that in the 1850s "virtually the whole low-country rice crop was produced on about 320 plantations, owned by about 250 families."²

The South Carolina lowcountry quickly became one of the wealthiest areas of the entire country. Most of the largest slave owners in the country were rice planters. Historians estimate that in the late antebellum period, only 1 percent of the South's population owned more than 50 slaves; however, in the St. James Santee Parish, it was quite common for a planter to own more than 100 slaves, and one slaveowner, Arthur Blake, owned 499 slaves in 1860. Historian Leigh Ann Pruneau calculates that in the neighboring Georgetown District, the median number of slaves per plantation was 135.³ The demography of the St. James Santee plantations was very similar, and the Rutledges owned more than 150 slaves throughout the antebellum period. In 1860 St. James Santee Parish contained 9 of the 28 plantations in Charleston County that had more than 100 slaves. At that time, the parish had a population of 2,000 slaves. This was the highest of all the parishes in Charleston District. Two parishes of the neighboring Georgetown District, however, combined for 16,100 slaves.⁴ At the start of the Civil War, 35 families

¹ Agricultural and Manufactures Schedules, Publications of the Bureau of the Census, South Carolina 1850, Microcopy No. 2, Roll 1, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia. No entries were found in the schedules for the St. James Santee Parish Rutledge properties in 1860.

² William Dusiaberre, Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 394.

³ Leigh Ann Pruneau, "All the Time is Work Time: Gender and the Task System of Antebellum Low Country Rice" (Ph. D. diss., University of Arizona, 1997), 41.

⁴ Dusiaberre, Days, appendix tables 8 and 9, pg. 457, 460. In two of its parishes, Georgetown District contained 54 plantations that had more than 100 slaves. There were 137 of these large rice plantations in the entire state.

in South Carolina owned 500 or more slaves, and 21 of those families planted rice rather than "king" cotton.⁵

Having a larger number of slaves per plantation directly effected the lives of the slaves, of course. Charles Joyner found that the slaves of the lowcountry rice region

. . . lived on larger plantations than most slaves elsewhere and their families had usually been in the district longer, often on the same plantation. They lived in an environment of few whites, and one virtually devoid of free blacks and of mulattoes . . . Economically, it meant more continuity with African work patterns than one might otherwise have expected. Culturally, it facilitated continuity with various patterns of African folk culture.⁶

This is certainly true of the Hampton plantation slaves -- none of whom were listed as "mulatto" in the slave schedules. Many of their families contained generations of Hampton slaves. Sue Alston, who had married a descendent of Hampton slaves, told an interviewer in the late 20th century that the Allston family had toiled on the Hampton plantation for generations before emancipation. In his 1785 will, Daniel Horry, owner of several plantations including Hampton, asked that "said Executors do not divide Families nor draught Big Isaac's Family, which Family I intend for my son Daniel."⁷ Thus, families of enslaved Africans were often able to remain together and continue their traditions on the Hampton plantation, forming a slave community that can be glimpsed in family papers. Although many details about the Hampton slaves remain unknown, the following pages illustrate how small bits of information can be used to paint a picture of slave life at Hampton.

⁵ Ibid., ix.

⁶ Charles W. Joyner, Down by the Riverside: a South Carolina Slave Community (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 37. Joyner was writing in reference to All Saints Parish, Georgetown District; however, the same is true of St. James Santee Parish.

⁷ Nancy Rhyne, John Henry Rutledge: the Ghost of Hampton Plantation: a parable (Orangeburg, S.C.: Sandlapper Pub. Co., 1997), as if told by Sue Alston; 1785 will of Daniel Horry, Charles Towne Landing files.

FREQUENT TRAVELERS:
THE PERSONAL SERVANTS OF THE PINCKNEYS AND HORRYS

In 1768 Daniel Huger Horry, son of Daniel Horry, Sr. and Sara Battison Horry, brought a new bride home to his Hampton plantation. The younger Daniel had begun accumulating slaves between the ages of 7 and 8 when he "purchased" 11 slaves from his parents for the token price of 5 shillings. Included in these 11 slaves was Big Isaac, whose family would remain on the plantation for generations.⁸ In addition to the slaves he had personally acquired, Daniel owned the slaves of his father after the Horry patriarch's 1763 death. Thus, at the time of his second marriage in 1768, Daniel Horry had substantial holdings.

Daniel's second wife, Harriott Pinckney, was no stranger to affluence. She was the daughter of Charles Pinckney and Eliza Lucas Pinckney, well known for her experiments with indigo. Harriott and Eliza were very close, and Eliza provided an example of a benevolent slave mistress for her daughter. While running her father's plantations, young Eliza Lucas had taught two slave girls to read and had intended for those girls to teach other slaves. In a letter to her friend Miss Bartlett in April 1742 Eliza wrote that she had "two black girls who I teach to read, and if I have my papa's approbation (my Mama's I have got) I intend [them] for school mistress for the rest of the Negroe children"⁹ Whether or not Harriott followed her mother's example and taught some of her slaves to read is not known -- although it is doubtful as the controls over slaves became tighter

⁸ February 7, 1746 sale of 11 slaves from Daniel Horry, Sr. and his wife to their son Daniel Huger Horry (transcript), Miscellaneous Records, Charleston County, South Carolina, vol. 75-A, 1746-1749, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library, hereafter cited as CCPL.

⁹ Elise Pinckney, ed., Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney 1739-1762 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 34.

after the American Revolution. However, Harriott seems to have been a benevolent mistress, and she certainly had favored, or "key," slaves.

Favored slaves played a significant role in the running of plantations, both in a practical and intellectual manner. "The favoring of key slaves had the critically important role of allowing a slaveholder to tell himself or herself that he or she treated slaves well. The all-important thing was that by considering that they treated 'worthy' and 'more sensible' slaves (key slaves) well, they could treat the rest with racial indifference and could still maintain a self-image of benevolence."¹⁰ These trusted slaves were an essential part of plantation life as they ran errands and delivered messages in a region characterized by isolated plantations at least a day's ride from a town. Key slaves came from the ranks of house servants, who had better food and clothing than the field slaves and were in close proximity to the white family. Many times a favored slave had been the childhood companion of a member of the white family, and out of deference to that relationship, he or she was given a special job in the running of the house, such as butler or valet. At Hampton, Esau was a constant companion of John Henry Rutledge when they were both young boys. They explored the woods and swamps together and hunted together.¹¹

The Pinckneys and Horrys depended upon several key slaves to carry messages to and from the Hampton plantation and the plantations of Harriott's brothers and to and from the plantation and the family's Charleston estate. Harry was usually the slave trusted to carry letters between Harriott at Hampton and her mother in Charleston. He is mentioned in family correspondence from the time of Harriott's marriage to Daniel Horry though the years of the American Revolution, and he is presumably the Harry valued at \$100 listed in the 1786 inventory of Daniel Horry's estate. Between family visits, Harry was Eliza's main link to the happenings at Hampton. Starved for information, Eliza would

¹⁰ Michael Tadman, Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989; reprint 1996), xxxii.

¹¹ See Rhyne, John Henry Rutledge.

question him at length, but his answers often left her frustrated. In a letter to Daniel Horry, Mar. 4, 1768, she wrote:

I wrote to you and Harriott by Harry and hope your horses will get up well, they set out yesterday morning. I don't believe Harry would utter a sentence more than he is commissioned to do for the world. I asked him many questions, particularly about your wound and whether it was still bad but I could not get any thing out of him more than that it is a scratch, though Harriott calls it a deep gash; had the major such a servant I believe his secret never would have been discovered.¹²

It was quite common for a planter's coachman to know a great deal of information about the white master's family. Andy Marion, who had been the coachman for his former master Eugene Mobley, said years later, "I used to hear lots of things from behin' me while drivin' de folks and saying nothin'."¹³ Like Andy, Harry said very little, but Eliza Pinckney continued to count on him for information. She wrote to her daughter May 28, 1778: "Harry tells me Mr. Horry goes to Pee Dee before he comes down. You don't tell me when you think to set out." And when Harriott arrived at Hampton from Charleston in November 1780 to find her husband deathly ill, it was Harry whom she sent to get a doctor.¹⁴

In the early 1800s, when Harry was probably too old to be of service any longer, Isaac was one of the family's most trusted slaves. In 1815 Isaac traveled with Harriott Horry on her trip through the North. In New York, Harriott left Isaac with the horses to travel by ship to New England. He met up with the party again on their return southward. Although he likely stayed with white acquaintances, it is obvious that Isaac was trusted not to run away during their northern sojourn. He continued to be in charge of the family

¹² Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Daniel Horry, 4 March 1768, Pinckney Papers, letter 38-2-1, South Carolina Historical Society, hereafter cited as SCHS.

¹³ Narrative of Andy Marion in *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, ed. George P. Rawick, Vol. 3 (Wesport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), 168.

¹⁴ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Horry, 28 May 1778, Pinckney Papers, letter 38-3-1, SCHS; Letter from Harriott Horry to Eliza Pinckney, November 1780, Pinckney Papers, letter 38-6-1, SCHS.

carriage through the 1830s as evidenced by Harriott's grandson Frederick Rutledge's mention of "Coachman Isaac" in a letter to his brother in 1838.¹⁵

Although key slaves were known for their loyalty, the family counted on the loyalty of *all* their slaves in times of crisis. This was certainly true during the later years of the American Revolution when the lowcountry was the site of the British southern campaign. Family tradition tells that in one instance, "the fidelity of the servants and the coolness of the mistress" saved Patriot commander Francis Marion from capture during a visit to Hampton.¹⁶ As the Revolution raged across the South, Daniel Horry and his brothers-in-law Thomas Pinckney and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney fought with the Continental army, but even while fighting a war, they were not without their personal slaves, referred to as body servants. For example, Thomas Pinckney brought his slave John with him to camp.

While the men were fighting, their female relatives sought shelter at the Hampton plantation. Harriott Horry was joined there by her mother Eliza, her brother Charles's wife Sally, and some of Sally's relatives, as well as several female family friends. Eliza sent for the slaves of her Belmont plantation to come to Hampton also. She wrote to her son Thomas in 1779: "I sent Prince the tailor from Goose Creek to order the Belmont people to cross Scots ferry and come to me at Santee and I hear Mr. Horry did the same but they are not come."¹⁷ If the slaves arrived at the Horry plantation, they would have been housed with the Hampton slaves, and the different communities of slaves would have had

¹⁵ See Harriott Horry's 1815 travel journal in which Isaac is mentioned several times, Harriott Ravenel Collection, SCHS; Letter from Frederick Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 1 June 1838, as quoted in Mary Bray Wheeler and Genon Hickerson Neblett, Hidden Glory: the life and times of Hampton Plantation, legend of the south Santee (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1983), 85.

¹⁶ Wheeler and Neblett, Hidden Glory, 39.

¹⁷ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Thomas Pinckney, c. 1779, Pinckney Papers, letter 38-3-6, SCHS.

the chance to interact and perhaps share news of their acquaintances on other plantations, just as the white residents did. Undoubtedly, many personal servants fled to Hampton along with their mistresses.

Several slaves continued to carry messages to family members during the war, and when Thomas Pinckney's "poor faithful John" could not serve his master, Moses was sent from Hampton to assist him. Eliza wrote to her son that Moses "promises to behave well, and I hope will be useful." After John returned to service, Eliza encouraged Thomas to keep Moses with him since she had no use for him at the time since she had Bob -- "a very good Boy he is" -- to help her at Hampton.¹⁸

At least one Hampton slave was able to gain a small measure of freedom during the war. Flora was at Camden, South Carolina in the fall of 1780 when the British occupied the city and sent the Patriots fleeing to the countryside. Eliza wrote to Thomas on September 13:

Flora your Sister's washerwoman is at Camden. She will be of great service to you, if you can prevail with her to be with you, as she is very handy, and your Sister wishes you will imploy [*sic*] her; she did not join the British camp till after the surrender of the town.¹⁹

Apparently, Flora was now able to make her own decisions about work. Thousands of slaves fled their masters to seek freedom with the British army after Lord Dunmore's proclamation of November 7, 1775, which promised freedom to any indentured servants or slaves who would bear arms for England. A Hessian soldier wrote in his diary:

Every officer had four to six horses and three or four Negroes, as well as one or two Negresses for cook and maid. Every soldier's woman was mounted and also had a Negro and Negress on horseback for her servants. Each squad had one or two horses

¹⁸ Letters from Eliza Pinckney to Thomas Pinckney 13 September 1780, 17 September 1780, and 4 October 1780, Pinckney Papers, letters 38-4-4, 38-4-6, and unnumbered 38-4, SCHS.

¹⁹ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Thomas Pinckney 13 September 1780, Pinckney Papers, letter 38-4-4, SCHS.

and Negroes, and every non-commissioned officer had two horses and one Negro.²⁰

Whether or not Flora returned to her mistress at Hampton is unknown. However, after the British defeat, some former slaves withdrew from America along with the British while others were left on their own to face the threat of re-enslavement.

During the War of 1812, the fate of a few of the Hampton slaves was again in question. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney wrote to an acquaintance August 26, 1813, "Commodore Dent has this moment called upon me to inform me that the two Brigs who had for some time blockaded this Port, and burnt a Schooner of my Sister's (Mrs. Horry) loaded with corn, near Sewee's Island, and carried off the Negroes belonging to it, had gone to Port Royal."²¹ As "boat slaves" were usually quite valuable, Harriott Horry must have been quite distressed at the loss of her slaves. The slaves, however, may have found a way to freedom.

Personal servants were given the opportunity to leave the plantation with their master or mistress not just in times of war. The most trusted slaves in times of crisis and in peace were the house slaves, who had the most contact with the white family who controlled their lives. Faithful, efficient house servants were necessary for the running of any household; therefore, although they were not held in the same high esteem as the family's "key" slaves, they were often sent back and forth from country plantation to city estate depending upon the needs of the white household. Harriott Horry shifted several of her female house slaves between Hampton and the family's Charleston estate. For example, in an undated letter written about 1770, Eliza wrote to her daughter that Old Dinah and one of the three family slaves named Daphne had made it safely to Charleston.

²⁰ Joseph P. Tustin, ed. and trans., *Ewald's Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 305.

²¹ Letter from Charles C. Pinckney to William F. Behr 26 August 1813, Pinckney papers, letter 38-10-4, SCHS.

Perhaps this Daphne was the same woman who was the subject of the 1785 letter from Harriott at Hampton to her mother in Charleston in which she wrote: ". . . there is not the least occasion to hurry Daphne from her mother as I find Nelly, Bella, and big Daphne so handy and so willing that I can do very well without the others."²² Even cooks (or potential cooks) were shuttled back and forth. In an undated, pre-1785 letter, Eliza wrote to her daughter, "Suppose you were to have Ralph up the next trip of the boat and try what he can do, I think he must know something of cooking now, if ever he does."²³

From the 1830s on, after the death of Harriott Horry, the family spent less time at Hampton and more time at their Charleston home or at the family's mountain retreat in North Carolina. Because the family was not always in residence at Hampton, detailed instructions were sent for the plantation's household servants when a visit was planned. Harriott Rutledge, Harriott Horry's daughter, was mistress of the plantation, and she relied on Patty and Grace to make sure the household ran smoothly in her absence. In anticipation of a family visit, she sent the following instructions to her son Edward, who was living at Hampton, in 1838: "I will thank you to desire Grace to have the 2 front chambers got ready . . . do tell Patty that capers are in the passage closet, and in the Press in the School room; mustard in the Store room." That same spring, Harriott Rutledge's daughter wrote to her brother: "Mama wishes you would send Grace[,] Peter & tailor Will to her by Kerrison who will be up in a few days . . . Ask maum Patty to put up the parlour carpet in leaf tobacco which we must get from George." When supplies were given out to the slaves that spring, Patty was to get out a box of brown sugar to be divided

²² Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Horry, n.d., Pinckney Papers, letter 38-16-5, SCHS; Letter from Harriott Horry to Eliza Pinckney November 1785, Pinckney Papers, letter 38-6-1, SCHS.

²³ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Horry, n.d., Pinckney Papers, letter 38-16-1, SCHS. Ralph may have been trained by Scipio, whom Sue Alston remembered to have been an excellent cook for the Hampton plantation whose specialty was the roasting of fowl. However, Scipio is not listed in the 1786 slave inventory of Daniel Horry, and family correspondence makes no mention of him.

among the slave women and Harriott told her son to take Grace with him to distribute the supplies as "she knows how I arrange things."²⁴

The Horry/Rutledge family depended upon their house servants to make their lives comfortable and to create an aura of great wealth for visiting friends and relatives. But that wealth was made possible by the work of slaves laboring in the fields, not in the big house.

²⁴ Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 19 March 1838, Rutledge Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library, hereafter cited as SCL; Letter from Harriott P. H. Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge, n.d., Rutledge Family Papers, SCL; Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 14 April 1838, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

MANAGEMENT AND LABOR

OUTSIDE THE BIG HOUSE

Rice cultivation was labor intensive, and that labor was provided by enslaved Africans who brought their knowledge of rice culture with them from their native lands, and especially from the Senegal-Gambia rice-growing region of West Africa. Daniel Horry's slave Eboe John, for example, almost certainly came from the Ibo tribe of West Africa, and he likely brought knowledge of crop cultivation with him. In the early years of rice cultivation, slaves, not masters, knew how to plant the seeds and harvest the crop, and they continued using their African methods in the fields after the establishment of rice as the main staple crop of the lowcountry. Slaves, for example, used their feet to plant seed "by pressing a hole in the trenches with the heel, dropping in the seeds, and covering them with the foot in the West African manner."²⁵ In addition, the use of coiled baskets to winnow the rice was an African importation.

Rice planters of the lowcountry, such as the Horrys and Rutledges, made use of the tides for strategic flooding of the fields. "Salt water would kill the rice, but every large lowcountry river had a patch of about 20 miles where its water was not yet saline, yet where its level rose and fell several feet with each ocean tide." At the Hampton plantation, the lower Santee River and its small tributaries supplied the fresh water for tidal rice cultivation. "The fields were flooded 3, 4, or 5 times a year -- sometimes for only a few days, on other occasions for weeks at a stretch. These inundations and drainings served multiple purposes: they protected the newly planted seed rice from birds and from being scorched by the sun; and the floodings killed some weeds which flourished in hot, dry weather while the drainings killed other weeds which had grown in

²⁵ Joyner, *Riverside*, 58.

the inundated fields."²⁶ Within this environment, the most important job for a slave was that of trunkminder. This job was usually given to an older male slave who had years of experience in the rice fields. After the tide had risen above the level of the field, he would open the gate, or trunk, and allow the water to flood the field, and he reversed the process to drain the field.²⁷

The vast majority of slaves -- male and female -- on a rice plantation worked in the fields. Rice was cultivated using the task system of labor rather than the gang system. Instead of working together in a gang, slaves were each given a specific task that they had to finish before the end of the day. Although there was no one uniform method of assigning tasks, the amount of a task was similar among rice plantations as planters learned from their neighbors. In her study of lowcountry rice plantations, Leigh Ann Pruneau found that a quarter-acre was the common unit of land for a task. P. C. Weston, a rice planter from All Saints Parish, Georgetown District, wrote:

A task is as much work as the meanest full hand can do in nine hours working industriously . . . No negro is to be put in a task which they cannot finish with tolerable ease. It is a bad plan to punish for not finishing tasks; it is subversive of discipline to leave tasks unfinished, and contrary to justice to punish for what cannot be done . . .²⁸

His fellow All Saints Parish rice planter Benjamin Allston was more specific:

Each full hand (grown person) is required to turn or dig up one quarter of an acre of swamp land (rice land) per day. In cutting ditches, the task is 600 feet . . . In listing land each negro will do half an acre; in bedding land three-eighths of an acre; in trenching land for rice each man will trench three-fourths of an acre which will contain 180 rows . . .²⁹

²⁶ Dusingberre, Days, 7.

²⁷ Pruneau, "All the Time," 42.

²⁸ P. C. Weston, "Management of a Southern Plantation," De Bow's Review 22 (January 1857): 38-44; quoted in Advice Among Masters: The Ideal in Slave Management, ed. James O. Breeden (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 69, hereafter cited simply as Advice. This book, edited by Breeden, is a compilation of excerpts from journal articles written by planters.

²⁹ Benjamin Allston, "Notes on the Management of a Southern Rice Estate," De Bow's Review 24 (April 1858): 324-26; in Advice, 70.

Obviously, a great amount of labor was needed to turn a swamp into a rice field.

After her husband's death in 1785, Harriott Horry ran the family's plantations while her son resided in France. During her tenure as Hampton's matriarch, Harriott Horry often sought the advice of her brothers. Thus, the task system on the family's Hampton and Harrietta plantations probably closely resembled that of the task system detailed by Thomas Pinckney, who sent to a friend the following "Estimate of the labour necessary for cultivating an Acre of land," in which he compared the amount of work necessary for normal planting of rice with the work necessary for the transplanting of partially-grown plants to a new rice field:³⁰

<u>Common Planting</u>	<u>Days</u>	<u>Transplanting</u>	<u>Days</u>
Trenching Sowing and Covering at 1/3 of an acre per hand	3	Sowing seed bed and drawing plants	1
Bird minding at 1/2 acre	2	Trenching or marking the ground for transplanting at 1/2 acre	2
Two hoeings at 1/2 acre	4	Transplanting at 1/10 th of an Acre	10
One hoeing at 1/4 of an acre	4	One hoeing at 1/2 an acre	2
Hand picking at 1/3 of an acre	3	Hand picking at 1/2 an acre	2
	16 days		17 days

This letter was likely written in the 1820s when Thomas Pinckney was experimenting with the cultivation of crops other than rice, as well as trying to improve rice cultivation techniques. In an undated letter written in the early 1820s, Thomas advocated the growing of flax along with rice. He wrote:

I have long thought that our tidewamps are too valuable to produce us only one crop in a year, in all other hot climates lands of equal value yield at least three crops

³⁰ Letter from Thomas Pinckney, probably written to William Lowndes, n.d., c. 1826, Pinckney-Lowndes papers, Harriott Ravenel Collection, SCHS.

in two years . . . flax is proverbial for growing in the mire. I have raised it in strong clay river swamps at Santee where it grew to the height of three feet . . .³¹

Thomas also wrote to his great-nephew Edward C. Rutledge about growing flax. Perhaps the crop was grown at Hampton for a time, but in the 1850 agricultural schedules flax was not listed as a product on the lands of Frederick or Harriott Rutledge.

In addition to her brothers, Harriott Horry depended upon an overseer to insure that the work was done in the fields, as did her daughter Harriott Rutledge, who along with her sons Edward and Frederick, managed the plantation after 1830. In 1822, the Hampton overseer was Mr. Addison. Before giving her instructions to Addison, Harriott consulted with her brother on which crops to plant and which fields to plant them in. On March 13, 1822 Thomas advised her to plant cotton. He wrote, "If 150 acres of cotton are planted, at least 40 hands will be required to do justice to its cultivation." Harriott had also asked for his opinion on a more delicate matter. Her son, who had changed his name from Daniel Horry to Charles Lucas Pinckney Horry, was still living in France, and Harriott was the executress of the Hampton estate in his absence. Apparently, he had asked his mother to provide him with an annuity based on the profits reaped from the South Carolina slaves that he owned, which were under his mother's control. Since the running of a plantation depended largely upon the issuing of credit for supplies between harvests, Harriott was naturally concerned about how she would get the capital C. L. P. Horry requested. Thomas gave her the following advice:

I think the offer of insuring to your son an annuity of a thousand guineas paid in Paris may under present circumstances be tolerably fair, because I think you will have to advance from your own funds a considerable part of that sum for the first year, but if my conjecture brought that there must be more than one hundred task laborers belonging to him, after deducting forty for Horry Island I consider the bargain a very hard one to him if it were to be of any continuance; because the price of sixty dollars round for every task taken up in the field is now considered very low wages, but even at that rate these negroes would bring six thousand dollars, a sum considerably exceeding the thousand guineas. In your case an additional reason may be offered why you should give a generous price for them, which is that duty and

³¹ Letter from Thomas Pinckney to Heyward, c. 1823, Pinckney-Lowndes papers, SCHS.

affection have already thrown upon you all of the trouble of their management; whereas in common bargains the hirer must always be understood to have [provided] for this trouble.

In conclusion, he recommended that she only pay the annuity for two or three years, and in the meantime she should send all the slaves to the family's Harrietta plantation to clean out the ditches and get the land there in working condition instead of planting a crop at Wambaw and Hampton. He advised her to plant subsistence crops only. He wrote, "I think you ought to make nothing for yourself out of his property."³² The running of a plantation was obviously a business, even when that business "contract" was between family members. In effect, C. L. P. Horry was hiring out his slaves to his mother.

Apparently, in this instance, Harriott ignored her brother's advice and planted rice anyway. Later that year, Thomas wrote to his sister, who was apparently in Charleston at the time, that he stopped at Hampton and spoke to Mr. Addison. He then rode to the Horrys' Wambaw plantation, "where we saw all the rice you have made with your sons Negroes." Perhaps this was a pointed reminder that she had not followed his advice. Unfortunately for her, Thomas reported that the rice did not look good, and she could hope to recoup only about half of her expenses.³³

Mr. Addison was succeeded by Mr. Keen as overseer. Although Mr. Keen remained at Hampton for several years, Harriott Horry was displeased with him in at least one instance. She wrote to her brother in an undated, pre-1830 letter upon her arrival at Hampton:

. . . I am much disappointed that Mr. Keen has not taken out the seed rice which I wrote particularly to say was for him unless he could spare no Bushels . . . but it is . . . disappointing to me that instead of the Sloop being expedited in unloading she is detained up here and he can't unload . . . Mr. Keen says she may carry the rice to Harrietta and then come back for her load of rice at Hampton. This is a particular

³² Letter from Thomas Pinckney to Harriott Pinckney Horry 13 March 1822, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

³³ Letter from Thomas Pinckney to Harriott Pinckney Horry 6 December 1822, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

disappointment to me at this Juncture as I can't be in town as much as possible to return with Servants³⁴

Mr. Kean continued to oversee the plantation after Harriott Horry's death, and her daughter, Harriott Rutledge, who took over as the family matriarch, described him as a man "whose judgment is far above the common class of managers."³⁵

Harriott Rutledge had learned how to manage the plantation under her mother's tutelage. Both women were very knowledgeable about crop cultivation, and they shared opinions with one another. In 1799 Harriott Rutledge recommended to her mother the planting of cotton rather than rice (just as her uncle would years later). She wrote:

Your note for Mr. White about the cotton seed came too late. Mr. R[utledge] and I think that my Brother had better plant cotton Largely for he has inquired generally among the merchants whether there is any probability of Rice selling better than it now does, and he says that he has no expectation that it will. He is so much convinced of this that he regrets not having planted cotton altogether at the Villa.³⁶

Regardless, Hampton remained primarily a rice plantation.

Perhaps even more essential to the proper running of the plantation than the overseers were the drivers, chosen from the most loyal and efficient male slaves. One of the Hampton drivers appears to have been Sandy since he certainly was responsible for a great deal of work on the plantation. Harriott Rutledge wrote to her son Edward from Hampton January 13, 1835:

As the weather is once more mild, Old Sandy is anxious to begin his services for you, and therefore goes to Town this evening in the Schooner. I have said all I could to perswaid [*sic*] him to have Old Lucy, but he is eloquent in his own cause, and he says my Master is so good he would not desire me to part at this time of day.

³⁴ Letter from Harriott Pinckney Horry to Thomas Pinckney, n.d., Pinckney Family Papers, SCHS.

³⁵ Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 21 January 1836, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

³⁶ Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Harriott Pinckney Horry 24 April 1799, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL. Apparently, C. L. P. Horry returned briefly to South Carolina to help manage the plantation.

In March, she wrote that she had "arranged with [Sandy] to attend to Every thing and he is to start Sabey on the plough this afternoon. . . ." ³⁷ Both Sandy and Sabey were given to Edward by Harriott. Sandy obviously was a valuable, trusted slave. Sabey, on the other hand, was only about 15 years of age and was still learning his task. Harriott wrote to her son, "I have had [Sabey] taught to plough and by the beginning of the next month I think he will have completed his trade as a plough man. I have had him trained for you, and I rely on him to do you some good." ³⁸

In 1850, in addition to rice, the slaves of Frederick Rutledge produced 500 bushels of Indian corn and 350 bushels of oats, and the slaves of Harriott Rutledge produced 400 bushels of Indian corn, 50 bushels of peas and beans, 300 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 300 pounds of butter and carded 40 pounds of wool. ³⁹ Slaves cultivated these subsistence crops during lulls in rice production, such as when the fields were flooded. The variety of crops insured that some type of field work was always necessary.

As previously mentioned, slaves labored under the task system in the fields, and there was a place for everyone within that system regardless of their age or gender. On the lowcountry rice plantations, it was not uncommon for slave women to outnumber slave men in the fields, but on the Hampton and Harrietta plantations, the number of men and the number of women were nearly equal (see table 1.) ⁴⁰ In her study of the task system,

³⁷ Letters from Harriott Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 13 January 1835 and 13 March 1835, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

³⁸ Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 13 January 1835, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

³⁹ Agricultural and Manufactures Schedules, Publications of the Bureau of the Census, South Carolina 1850.

⁴⁰ Population Schedules and Slave Schedules, Publications of the Bureau of the Census, South Carolina 1820-1860. No information on the Hampton slaves of St. James Santee Parish was found in the 1830 records.

TABLE I
SLAVE GENDER

<u>Year</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>male slaves</u>	<u>female slaves</u>
1820	Harriott Horry	41	44
1820	Frederick Rutledge	38	56
1840	Harriott Rutledge	52	54
1840	Frederick Rutledge	34	32
1850	Harriott Rutledge	46	61
1850	Frederick Rutledge	51	62
1860	Frederick Rutledge	67	63

Leigh Ann Pruneau found that women field hands did the same amount of work in the rice fields as the men. "Whether turning, trenching, or hoeing the ground, or cutting and tying rice, men and women similarly rated were expected to process the same amount of land or cut the same amount of rice each day." Pruneau found that the exception was the amount of work required of slaves when threshing the rice. "Typically prime men threshed 600 sheaves of rice a day to prime women's 500 sheaves. Since planters assigned women a smaller task than the men, they must have considered the job a physically demanding one."⁴¹ Equally demanding was the grueling task of clearing swamp land for rice fields which required the labor of both slave men and women. In March 1822 Thomas Pinckney wrote to the women of Hampton:

. . . I would take as many of the hands as are necessary . . . to put Harrietta swamp into as complete order as the season yet admit[s] . . . I would then leave with Johnson as many of the women as should ensure the crop being attended in the highest order, & I would return all the men & as many women as might not be wanted at Harrietta to Wambaw & Hampton, where they should be steadily employed through the summer in putting the Island in order. . . .⁴²

⁴¹ Pruneau, "All the Time," 67.

⁴² Letter from Thomas Pinckney to Harriott Horry and Harriott Rutledge March 1822, as quoted in Hidden Glory, 63.

The majority of field workers were between the ages of 15 and 40, but advanced age did not exempt a slave from work. There were many tasks on a rice plantation suited to the capabilities of older slaves. In his detailed study of lowcountry rice plantations, *Down by the Riverside*, historian Charles Joyner wrote:

. . . elderly men were assigned to such crucial jobs as trunk minder, which required considerable experience and mature judgment, even though the physical demands were slight. Others became stock minders or gardeners. Elderly women were often assigned to the day nursery or 'chillun house.'⁴³

If such a task could not be found for an older slave, he or she was simply given a smaller amount of field work than a "prime" field hand.⁴⁴ On the Horry/Rutledge plantations, many slaves were over 50 years of age. In fact, the 1850 and 1860 slave schedules list male and female slaves in their 60s and 70s at Hampton, and one slave woman belonging to Harriott Rutledge was listed as 90 years old in 1850. Of course, a slave of such an advanced age would no longer be expected to do much -- if any -- work. It is interesting to note that the slaves of Hampton were fairly evenly distributed among the categories of under age 10, 10-24 years, 24-36 years, and 36-55 years, with a number of slaves falling in the category of 55-100. Obviously, the Hampton slave community consisted of generations of families working on the same plantation.

Field workers young and old could expect only an occasional break from their labors other than Sunday, which was typically a day spent washing and doing chores in the slave quarters. On many plantations, the only break they received was an annual three-day reprieve at Christmas. Occasionally, the monotony of field work was disrupted by seasonal emergencies. For example, storms such as the hurricane of September 1854 could wreck havoc on field embankments and ditches, which always required some sort

⁴³ Joyner, *Riverside*, 63.

⁴⁴ The "prime" age for slaves was generally from age 15 to 35 or 40. Note that census categories were 10-24 years and 24-36 years. Franklin and Armfield, probably the largest slave trading firm in antebellum America, preferred to deal in slaves ages 12 to 25, as they would garner the highest prices. See Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, 136.

of repairs in the winter months. "A freak combination of unusually high tides with a 'northeaster' storm" could cause extensive flooding of the rivers and breaks in the dikes of the rice fields. And the very nature of rice cultivation could cause numerous problems since "a source of recurrent crisis was that the wooden floodgates and trunks constantly rotted, and the river persistently undermined the mud embankments."⁴⁵

Within this environment, skilled carpenters were essential to the survival of the plantation. They not only built buildings and mills, they built the trunks, or floodgates, and small boats used for transport on the rivers. The Rutledge family had more than one slave carpenter and several slaves who assisted the skilled carpenters, and they were shifted among the family plantations according to the amount of work needed. Frederick Rutledge wrote the following to his brother Edward October 25, 1838 concerning work done at the Harrietta and Waterhan plantations owned by the family:

. . . the carpenters' work was *very backward* owing to the sickness of Howe & Blacksmith Stephen (who usually works with the carpenters during the summer) now it appears to me that Pepper & Peter might be sent to Harrietta & be more usefully employed on the plantation than in town . . . The mill at [Harrietta] ought to be put in as good order as My Mother's own carpenters can repair it -- I think that the interest of the plantation requires this, but I only wish it done if it meets her approbation . . .⁴⁶

But carpenters were not the only skilled workers who kept the plantation productive. Charles Joyner found that on rice plantations, "animal raisers, baby keepers, barbers, blacksmiths, boatmen, bricklayers, butchers, butlers, carpenters, coachmen, cobblers, cooks, coopers, engineers, gardeners, gunkeepers, laundresses, lumbermen, maids, nurses, pantry minders, saltworkers, seamstresses, shoemakers, stock minders, tailors, tanners, tinsmiths, trunk minders, valets, waiters, and weavers" were all essential.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Dusinberre, Days, 7-8.

⁴⁶ Letter from Frederick Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 25 October 1838, as quoted in Hidden Glory, 92.

⁴⁷ Joyner, Riverside, 70-71.

On many plantations, the seamstresses and tailors were often employed making clothing for the slaves as a prosperous white family preferred to order their clothing from a well-known clothier in the nearest town. However, Will, the tailor at Hampton, was called upon to make clothing for his master, Frederick Rutledge, who wrote to his brother: "My wardrobe is both short and scant -- if tailor Will is not otherwise engaged he can make two pair of trousers and one coat for me & send them by one of the Santee Coasters."⁴⁸ Although many masters and mistresses gave out ready-made clothing to their slaves twice a year, the slaves at Hampton had to make their own clothing from cloth provided to them along with other supplies. In April 1838, Harriott Rutledge sent instructions to her son Edward:

. . . give out the people's summer clothes for me, to each field hand I give 7 yds of the white homespun with 2 bales of the cotton, to the 3 drivers 10 yds each, to boys and girls who do some work 3/2 yds and of the Blue twilled stuff that is in the bale. Pray give to each driver 3 yds for a [pair] of pantaloons and the same to Old Moses the carpenter, and with Mr. Menig I sent up was some chewing tobacco, pray let this article go down with you and have it given out to the men, I sent up a bll of brown sugar. I will be much obliged to you to make Patty get out a large box of it to give to the women when you give the tobacco to the men.

They also received rations of corn, and Harriott reminded Edward to supply

1 1/4 yards of cloth for "an apron pattern."⁴⁹

Although field hands did not enjoy the privileges given to slaves of the big house, who received better food and clothing, slaves both in the fields and in the house shared many of the same fears and anxieties. As seen in the next section, the economic rises and falls of the white family effected all of the slaves at the Hampton plantation.

⁴⁸ Letter from Frederick Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 25 October 1838, Hidden Glory, 93.

⁴⁹ Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 14 April 1838, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

PUNISHMENT AND SEPARATION

No matter what their roles were on the plantation, all slaves knew that their fate was in the hands of their white owner. If the master or mistress were displeased with a slave, that slave could be stripped of all privileges, whipped, or even sold away from their loved ones. Being flogged with a leather strap was a common punishment on the South's plantations. One planter wrote:

Negroes who will not do their work, like boys who will not get their lessons, must sometimes be flogged; but a few stripes are all that is necessary . . . Fifteen or twenty lashes lightly inflicted are as much as should ever be given. For serious offenses, other punishments, such as solitary confinement, &c. should be resorted to.⁵⁰

Most planters and overseers seem to have advocated meting out punishments only after their temper had cooled. Perhaps this was done out of a sense of benevolence, but more likely, the owner was afraid that his slave "property" would be damaged in a fit of passion.

The correspondence of the Horry/Rutledge family contains no *direct* references to slave punishments at the Hampton and Harrietta plantations. However, a letter from Frederick Rutledge to his brother indicates that one of the family slaves was sent to work in the fields as a punishment. Frederick was living in North Carolina at the time, and Edward was managing the family's St. James Santee holdings. Frederick wrote:

Patty seems to be very much distressed about Paul -- leaving her out of the case, I think that his punishment has been sufficient for his offence -- I am always anxious to keep my word even to the most humble. I told Paul some time since that if he behaved himself well he should be replaced, his having passed to your orders has prevented me from doing so. I would willingly supply his place in the field by one of my own hands & I have been deterred from making the offer solely by the belief

⁵⁰ Franklin, "Overseers," Carolina Planter 1 (August 1844): 25-30; in Advice, 82.

that it would not be acceptable -- I have taken the trouble to put this on paper in order that you may see that the value of my promise in this instance depends upon yourself.⁵¹

Years later Ben Horry, a former slave from a Georgetown district plantation, recounted a story he had heard about a Rutledge family slave. Horry told an interviewer, "On Rutledge plantation a man wouldn't take no beating. Found a large hollow cypress tree been rotted out long years" The slave hid inside the tree until he felt a rattlesnake crawl across him, and then he quickly came out of hiding. Apparently, punishments could be physical at the Hampton and Harrietta plantations.⁵²

Perhaps an even greater fear than that of punishment was the fear of being sold apart from family members. Slaves knew the names of the slave traders in the area and knew that sale to a trader could result in a more cruel master. More than 70 years after slavery's demise, former slaves could still recall the names and residences of the traders. Elijah Green of Charleston who had been born in 1843 gave the following description:

On Chalmer Street [in Charleston] is the slave market At the foot of Laurence Street, opposite East Bay Street, on the other side of the trolley track is w're Mr. Alonzo White kept an' sell slaves from his kitchen. He was a slave-broker who had a house that exten' almos' to the train tracks which is 'bout three hundred yards goin' to the waterfront.⁵³

Although no references to sales made for the Horrys and Rutledges were found in the surviving records of Alonzo White, the masters of the Hampton slaves did occasionally sell slaves through their attorney Joshua W. Toomer, of Christ Church Parish, Charleston District. Prior to 1826, sales of Hampton slaves were merely transfers of ownership within the Horry family for a token price. For example, just as Daniel Horry had "bought" 11 slaves from his parents for the token price of 5 shillings, he "sold" a young slave girl

⁵¹ Letter from Frederick Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 15 December 1829, Rutledge Family Papers 1826-32, SCL.

⁵² Narrative of Ben Horry in Rawick, *The American Slave*, Vol. 2, 301. Dusinger quotes Horry in *Them Dark Days* and writes that the event occurred at Harrietta.

⁵³ Narrative of Elijah Green, *ibid.*, 197.

named Judy to his daughter Harriott for 5 shillings in 1784 (see figure 1). Harriott was only 14 years old at the time, so Judy was probably her childhood companion slave.⁵⁴ When Daniel Horry died in 1785, his will stipulated that his wife Harriott was to have her choice of 20 of the slaves of his estate as her inheritance in addition to any slaves Daniel had gained through his marriage to her. Daughter Harriott received 80 of the remaining slaves, and the rest of them were bequeathed to Daniel. Since both Harriotts resided together, and the elder Harriott managed Daniel's slaves while he lived abroad, the slaves were able to remain together even though they had different owners. Even if the slaves had gone to different households as the result of Horry's death, his will stipulated that slave families were not to be divided.⁵⁵ Apparently, Daniel Horry was a considerate master who preferred not to sell slaves away from the Hampton community.

In the 1820s, however, Daniel C. L. P. Horry, who remained in France, authorized several sales of his slaves at Hampton. Horry's attorney Joshua Toomer sold two groups of slaves -- one group of six slaves and another group of five -- to John Allston in 1826. Fortunately for the 11 slaves, Allston owned land not too far from Hampton, so they may have been able to maintain contact with their former slave community. The 10 slaves sold to Augustus Fludd of Upper St. John's Parish in 1827 and the 4 women sold to Isaac Skipper in 1832 did not have that small comfort. However, perhaps Toomer did make an effort to sell the slave families of Horry's estate together since when Dorcas was sold to John I. Middleton of Charleston in 1831, her two-year-old child Betsey was sold along

⁵⁴ See Bill of Sale for slave Judy, Pinckney Papers, letter 38-5-11, SCHS. The only record found of a slave sale made outside the family prior to 1826 was the 1800 sale of a slave named Will to George Parker by Charles and Frederick Rutledge. However, Will was probably a slave owned by Frederick Rutledge before his marriage to Harriott Horry, and Will was probably never brought to Hampton.

⁵⁵ Will of Daniel Horry 1785, Charles Towne Landing files, Charleston, South Carolina.

with her. And when Edward C. Rutledge purchased Kate from his uncle's estate in 1831, he also purchased her two sons, Richard and Moses.⁵⁶

After Horry's death in 1828, his slaves were to have been divided equally between his wife Eleonore, who also resided in France, and his mother Harriott. However, it appears that Eleonore renounced her claim on the Hampton slaves, and most of them likely remained part of the Hampton/Harrietta slave community under the ownership of Harriott Horry and, after her death in 1830, Harriott Rutledge, who had been widowed in 1821. In 1832 while the estate of Daniel C. L. P. Horry was still being settled, Frederick Rutledge purchased seven of the estate slaves, and Edward Rutledge purchased a "mustizo" slave woman named Diana from the estate; thus, these slaves remained in the family. Eight others were sold by Toomer to Stephen Doar, a planter rising in affluence who would purchase the Harrietta property early in 1859.⁵⁷

The slaves owned by Harriott Rutledge, who inherited her mother's estate, were relatively secure in the knowledge that they would remain within the Hampton/Harrietta community. No records were found for slave sales made by Harriott Rutledge. However, she did transfer ownership of several slaves to her children as gifts. As mentioned previously, she deeded ownership of Sandy and Sabey to her son Edward in 1835. In her letter to Edward telling him of her gift, she wrote that Sabey, "a young lad about 15 years old, well disposed," was the brother of Tom, whom she had given to her daughter Harriott.⁵⁸ In 1836 she had discussed selling the Harrietta plantation and its slaves to Dr. Turnball, but the plantation and its slaves remained in the family until after her death.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Bills of Sale, Miscellaneous Records Vol. 5D, 1825-1829, pg. 123, 170, 353 and Vol. 5K, 1829-1839, pg. 362, 423, SCDAH.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 5K, pg. 566 and Vol. 5O, 1832-1836, pg. 16, 94.

⁵⁸ Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 13 January 1835, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

⁵⁹ See Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 21 January 1836, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

Her son Frederick owned more than 100 slaves in the 1850s, and he conducted two known slave sales outside the family in those years. In 1852 he sold Cain to Isabella Haines for \$350. As Cain was about 40 years old at that time, he had passed the "prime" age for slaves. Therefore, he must have been a skilled worker, or perhaps he had married one of Haines's slaves, and she bought him out of kindness. Frederick also sold seven slaves in 1854 to Stephen Doar, who had bought eight of the Hampton slaves two decades earlier. Ironically, less than five years later, the 15 slaves Doar had purchased over the years from the Hampton/Harrietta slave community would once again be owned by the owner of the Harrietta plantation.⁶⁰

The lives of many of the Rutledge slaves were disrupted after the death of Harriott Rutledge in 1858. Substantial debts forced Frederick Rutledge to sell the Harrietta plantation and 61 slaves. The plantation was sold to Doar for \$25,000, and Robert F. W. Allston, the executor of Harriott's estate, hoped to find someone willing to pay \$600 each for the plantation's slaves. Factors Robertson, Blacklock, and Company wrote to Allston:

[That the slaves] will be sold to pay debt is the worst of it and money is the strong component part! Still as they have to be sold, we must do the best we can for the Heirs, not losing sight of the future welfare of the people, and our desire to get them a good owner. But a large portion of cash is indispensable.⁶¹

Frederick offered to sell the slaves to Doar so that they would not have to be moved from the plantation. But Doar was only willing to pay \$550 per slave. "This was not quite as much as [Frederick] hoped for, and paternalism began to seep into the swamp."⁶² However, he was not forced to sell the 61 slaves in smaller groups since Joseph B. Allston, Robert Allston's nephew, offered \$575 per slave in January 1859. He wrote to his uncle:

⁶⁰ Bills of Sale, Vol. 6C, 1849-1853, pg. 557 and Vol. 6D, 1853-1857, pg. 77.

⁶¹ Letter from Alexander Robertson to Robert F. W. Allston 13 January 1859, Allston Family Papers, SCHS.

⁶² Dusenberre, *Days*, 368.

I purchased the Harrietta gang of negroes to day at \$575 round being \$35,075 in all. Doar had previously offered \$550 round. It is more than I should pay but the winter is passing with little prospect of their selling for less . . . I shall go up on the Steamer on Thursday receive the negroes at Harrietta and thence to Waverly. Frederick Rutledge had bought the driver which is a great drawback. There are 61 . . .⁶³

Waverly was just north of All Saints Church in All Saints Parish, Georgetown District, so the slaves did not have far to move. However, Allston could not afford to keep all the slaves, and the following month he "determined to frustrate [Frederick] Rutledge's intention by keeping the more valuable slaves and selling the others in a parcel, for which, of course, he could not hope to receive as much as \$575 per slave."⁶⁴ Benjamin Allston sent the following message to Robert Allston, who was apparently acting on behalf of his nephew:

I am sorry to inform you that the blacks brought only \$350. I do not know who bought them On the whole I think the blacks well gotten rid of, though I hoped they might have brought a higher price.⁶⁵

This is a rather callous analysis of a sale that would once again disrupt the lives of the Harrietta slaves, who had only recently been severed from the Hampton/Harrietta community. Any of the former Rutledge slaves who remained with Joseph Allston were sold along with the remainder of Allston's slaves in 1863.⁶⁶

Fear of punishment or sale caused some slaves to attempt to run away, and some were successful. Other runaways had shown no sign of disobedience prior to their escape.

⁶³ Letter from Joseph Blyth Allston to Robert F. W. Allston 18 January 1859, Allston Family Papers, SCHS. The bill of sale dated 10 February 1859 is for 60 slaves at a total price of \$33,975. See Bills of Sale, Vol. 6E, 1857-1863, pg. 101, SCDAH.

⁶⁴ Dusinger, Days, 368.

⁶⁵ Letter from Benjamin Allston to Robert F. W. Allston 1 February 1859, as quoted in Dusinger, *ibid*.

⁶⁶ Letter from Robertson, Blacklock and Company to Robert F. W. Allston 9 May 1863, as quoted in J. H. Easterby, ed., The South Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945).

Patrols were constantly on the look-out for runaways, and notices describing runaways ran for weeks in local papers. Any black men or women suspected of being runaways were brought to the work house where they could be claimed by their former masters. A black person pretending to be free was often immediately under suspicion of being a runaway when they entered a new community. A notice in the *South Carolina Gazette* in October 1742 stated: "Brought to the Work-House some Time ago, a Negro man who pretends to be free; he was sent by Mr. Daniel Horry of Santee."

Slaves occasionally ran away from the Horry family holdings. Daniel Horry posted in the *Gazette* February 14, 1771:

Run-away from the Subscriber, about two Months since, two NEGRO MEN, named JOE and SOGO, (supposed to be harboured about Ashepoo) JOE is a young Fellow, about 22 Years of Age, and about 5 feet 6 Inches high; SOGO about 25 Years of Age, and about 6 Feet high. Any person who will apprehend and deliver both, or either of the above Negroes to the Warden of the Work-House, or to me at Santee, shall receive TEN POUNDS Currency, for each.

Neither slave is listed in the 1786 inventory of the Horry estate. If they were apprehended, they were subsequently sold. On December 3, 1787 another notice was posted in the *State Gazette*:

RUN-AWAY Yesterday from the house in Broad-street,
A SHORT THIN Negro Fellow, Named ISAAC, belonging to the estate of Daniel Horry, Esq; deceased, about 23 years of age, is very artful and sensible, but little or no dependence to be paid in what he says, had on the morning he went away, a blue jacket, but may since have changed his dress, as he carried with him a grey coat and sundry other clothes. . . . Any person giving information where he may be found, shall meet with a suitable reward by applying to R. Norris & Co., No. 1 Bedon's Alley.

Despite threats of punishment or separation by sale, most slaves remained on the Rutledge plantations for the duration of their lives. A good example of slave families remaining on the plantation for generations is that of Big Isaac and his family. Big Isaac was bought by Daniel Horry from his parents in 1746. Horry's 1785 will stated that Big Isaac and his family were not to be divided, and in 1786, forty years after his ownership was transferred from father to son, Big Isaac was listed in the Horry estate inventory,

valued at \$40. Ned and Toney are also good examples. The two of them were also bought in 1746, and perhaps they were related somehow to Big Isaac. In 1786 they were each valued at \$80, which indicates that they must have been quite young when they were transferred to the younger Daniel Horry. Because they were grouped together in the estate inventory, they almost certainly shared a cabin and were likely brothers since they had remained together for 40 years. Furthermore, in a letter dated 1799, Harriott Rutledge mentions "old Ned."⁶⁷ Other examples can be found in the Horry/Rutledge records and correspondence. See appendix 1 for a list of slaves who are repeatedly mentioned. In comparison with other slave masters, the slave owners of the Horry/Rutledge family were benevolent masters and mistresses, and, as seen in the next section, they made sure that their slaves received medical care when needed.

⁶⁷ February 7, 1746 sale of 11 slaves; 1785 Will of Daniel Horry; 1786 Estate Inventory; Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Harriott Horry 24 April 1799, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

SLAVE HEALTH

The slaves' health was very important to the slave masters of the South. After all, much of their capital was invested in the lives of their slaves. A plethora of articles on slave health were published in the agricultural journals of the South, and a great deal of attention was given to slave diet and the proper way to cook food to prevent sickness. After surveying the various articles on diet, James O. Breeden wrote, "In most cases the recommended weekly allowance for a field hand was 3 1/2 to 4 pounds of meat, 1 to 1 1/2 pecks of cornmeal, and liberal amounts of vegetables and fruits when available."⁶⁸ Many slaves were able to supplement their rations by hunting and fishing. Benjamin Allston, a lowcountry rice planter, wrote, "Living on the tide-water near the salt with access to the sea, fish of various kinds are taken by [the slaves], and also oysters."⁶⁹

Although living in the lowcountry afforded slaves access to various types of seafood, the health hazards of living in the rice region outweighed the dietary benefits. The most obvious health threat came from the stagnant, foul-smelling water covering the rice fields. Germs abounded in the water, which was home to snakes, mosquitoes, and a variety of other insects and vermin. Flooding from the lowcountry's periodic storms often caused supplies of drinking water to become equally polluted and resulted in dysentery and cholera. The rice fields also attracted hundreds -- perhaps thousands -- of rats.

White families on the plantations fled the rice swamps from June to September -- the sickly season. They left behind hundreds of slaves, whom many believed to have a special immunity to the rice region's diseases, such as malaria. But no one was completely immune, and slave child mortality was horrendous. William Dusinger wrote, "A

⁶⁸ Breeden, Advice, 89.

⁶⁹ Allston, "Notes on the Management of a Southern Rice Estate," in Advice, 110.

conservative modern estimate suggests that at least 55 percent of the children born on 19th century rice plantations died by age 15." This is compared to 38 percent on cotton and sugar plantations. "The true figure for the rice plantations is surely higher even than a 55 percent child mortality rate, for even the best plantation records probably omitted many deaths which occurred during the first four weeks of infancy" Dusinberre estimates that two-thirds of slave children on rice plantations did not reach adulthood.⁷⁰

Constant references to health and sickness can be found in the correspondence of the Pinckneys, Horrys, and Rutledges. While Eliza Pinckney was living at the family's Charleston estate, she often wrote to her daughter at Hampton about slave illnesses. She reported that one slave woman was complaining "of a pain in her knees, she has done that a good while," and the woman's child had thrash.⁷¹ Another slave complaint was reported by Frederick Rutledge in 1832. He wrote, "Old William has been very sick with the influenza, he is perhaps a little better, but appears to be to use his own phrase 'much worsted.'" At times, epidemics raged through the slave quarters, and a large number of slaves would fall ill. Eliza wrote to her daughter on May 28, 1778:

Sibb was taken with a fever two days ago but it is luckily off this morning, and she went in the cart to town, had it not been off it would have distressed me a good deal to have left her so ill, and I am obliged to be in town about the taxes this week.

Although Sibb recovered, other slaves were not as lucky. Less than two weeks later, Eliza wrote:

We lost George and Phebe in a few days, and before I heard they were sick; Abram and little Toby lay at the point of Death, on Saturday some more down. I expect to hear from thence this morning. I ordered, and they had a Doctor to Toby and Abram, an Lee [*sic*] from Dorchester, but Doctor Garden recommends Doctor Trehor as a very clever young man.

⁷⁰ Dusinberre, *Days*, 80.

⁷¹ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Pinckney Horry, n.d., circa 1770, Pinckney Family Papers, letter 38-16-5, SCHS. The handwriting is very difficult to read. It appears that the slave woman's name may have been Lye or Liza.

According to Eliza, the cause of George and Phebe's illness was distemper.⁷²

Doctor Alexander Garden's opinion was often sought. In 1781 Daniel Horry sent his slave George to Eliza Pinckney with a note that read:

The bearer George has been a longtime complaining of a violent pain in his Head & Eyes, but no fever, he imagines that the Change of Air & a jaunt to Ch'Town will recover him, However I think we had better Consult Doctor Garden, & if he sees proper will give him some medicine. You will therefore oblige me to send the Negro to the Doct. at an Hour when you think he is most at leisure, if he is able he had better assist April in the garden, & I think in about 14 or 15 days he may come up by the Return of Col. Harlestons Schooner.⁷³

Garden was a Charleston physician and nationally-known botanist. He treated both free people and slaves with natural remedies such as bark, seeds, flowers, and snakeroot. He often prescribed bathing, blister poultices, and large numbers of pills. For example, for inflammation he prescribed bathing with an emollient such as "milk with caurmomile flowers" twice a day; for fits of fever he prescribed snakeroot tea; and for stomach complaints he prescribed a rice gruel with honey or a corn gruel with milk "to ease your mouth." Many of his remedies required taking three or four pills at a time. When he treated a "new negroe" woman with multiple complaints in 1761, he prescribed two spoonfuls four times a day of a prepared mixture and added:

As soon as she has finished these, she should take the following pills. Take Sweet Gum one ounce, Castele Soap half an ounce, Garlic 1/4 an ounce, heat them all together, and make 140 pills of which let her take four pills at once, four times every day. At the same time let her take the following drink. Take Hysop, and Wild Horehound of each a handfull, make it into a strong tea, and sweeten it with Garlic Syrup, of this let her drink at least one or one half pint a day.⁷⁴

⁷² Letter from Frederick Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 8 March 1832, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL; Letters from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Pinckney Horry 28 May 1778, 8 June 1778, Pinckney Family Papers, Letters 38-3-1, 38-3-2, SCHS.

⁷³ Letter from Daniel Horry to Eliza Pinckney 4 April 1781, Pinckney Family Papers, letter 38-5-1, SCHS.

⁷⁴ See collection of letters from Alexander Garden to Richard B. Baker, circa 1759-1767, Baker-Grimké Papers, Box 11-536, SCHS.

Despite the gruesome sights he saw on a regular basis, Dr. Garden kept a sense of humor when diagnosing his patients. When the woman mentioned above began to recover, he recommended "gentle continued exercise" and suggested: "Drive her out in a Cart and let her walk home small distances." In his follow-up letter he wrote that he hoped her master noted his humor. In reference to a free black laborer that he treated, he wrote, ". . . rest satisfied that he will neither die of the Dose, nor the Doctor, both which deaths are equally terrible, tho [*sic*] the lot of many a poor man, and unhappy woman."⁷⁵

Although epidemics occurred all too frequently, occasionally a plantation would have a fortunate year with very few deaths. In 1850 mortality schedules were added to the census records. Only two slave deaths were reported for "Mrs. Rutledge's" plantation. Joe, a 16-year-old male field hand, had died in March of consumption after being ill six days. Stephen, an 80-year-old male who had been born in South Carolina, died of old age in May. No epidemics had been reported in the parish; however, the number of deaths for the year were recorded in June, which was only the beginning of the sickly season.⁷⁶

On most plantations, slaves also consulted healers within their own communities. These healers practiced folk remedies of African origins. On many plantations, these healers were regarded with suspicion by their white masters, but on the Hampton plantation, Madame Tallulah was consulted by her white mistress in at least one instance. According to oral tradition, Harriott Rutledge feared for the life of her pet cat after the cat ate a rattlesnake. Harriott brought the cat to Madame Tallulah, who is said to have saved the cat's life. It is not known whether the healer treated the white people of the big house, but it is apparent that her knowledge of medicines was trusted.⁷⁷ That medical knowledge

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Mortality Schedules, Publications of the Bureau of the Census, Charleston District, 1850-1880, AD 281, Roll 1. The names of slave owners were not included in the 1860 schedules, so it is impossible to tell which deaths occurred on which plantations.

⁷⁷ See Rhyne, John Henry Rutledge.

was only one facet of the African culture that survived the enslavement and forced migration of the African people to the Carolina lowcountry.

AFRICAN CULTURE AND CREOLIZATION

During the Colonial period, Charleston was a major slave-trading port. Between 1672 and 1775, "nearly 90,000 black slaves entered Charleston or one of the lesser ports of South Carolina."⁷⁸ Obviously, some of the Hampton slaves, such as Eboe John and Onia, had been born in Africa. Slaves from different parts of Africa spoke different languages or dialects and often could not understand one another. They found it harder still to understand the language of their new white masters, who in turn did not understand any of the African languages. Eliza Pinckney wrote of Daniel Horry's slave Onia: "[He] says he understands English very well, but I think he speaks it very badly. I can't understand him."⁷⁹ Enslaved Africans were forced to form a new creole English, or Gullah language.

Inability to understand one another led to slaves adopting different versions of their African names. Charles Joyner, who studied Gullah slave names, wrote:

The transition from the sound spoken by the slaves to the script written by the masters was not always accomplished without a certain cultural transformation. What the master thought a given spoken name to be and what a slave thought a given spoken name to be were not always the same. In many cases the masters wrote into their records whatever English name sounded most like the name spoken by the slaves.

Thus, Abra became Abraham, Bilah became Billy, Moosa became Moses, etc.⁸⁰ Many of the Hampton slaves had names that were obviously derivatives of African names, such as

⁷⁸ Martin L. Kilson and Robert I. Rotberg, eds., The African Diaspora (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 118.

⁷⁹ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Pinckney Horry, n.d., pre-1785, Pinckney Family Papers, letter 38-16-1, SCHS. The name of the slave is hard to decipher, but appears to be Onia, who was part of the Daniel Horry inventory, valued at \$80.

⁸⁰ Joyner, Riverside, 218-219.

Sabey, Jemmy, Cotto, Mingo, and Benbo. Many slaves were named using the African pattern of naming children after the day of the week on which they were born. At Hampton, Quash was named after an African word for Sunday; Cudjo for Monday; Binah for Tuesday; Cupid for Wednesday; Abba for Thursday; Affy, Phebe, and Cuffy for Friday; and Minda for Saturday.⁸¹ Another African tradition was used in "naming children after conditions at the time of their birth -- the weather, the appearance or temperament of the child, or the attitude of the parents toward the birth."⁸² Perhaps this explains the naming of Lazy, one of the Hampton slaves in 1786. Yet another tradition was that of "basket names," which were names given by slave parents that were not known to the white master. Numerous references to basket names can be found in the ex-slave narratives compiled by the Federal Writers Project in the 1930s.

Many other African customs survived creolization. For example, the deference given to elderly slaves by calling them "Uncle" or "Aunt" was a direct result of the West African respect for elders, as was the obligation of the entire slave community to care for the elders in a type of extended kin network. Joyner wrote, "In many West African societies . . . the elderly are regarded as partially liminal, symbolically poised between this world and eternity. Soon they will become spirits themselves and will exercise the power of spirits." Another African custom was the centrality of the hearth fire. "It was considered bad luck to let a fire die out in a house" since African culture taught that all fires in a slave community came from one "first" fire.⁸³

Some African religious traditions, such as the singing of spirituals, continued after enslavement. But in many cases, African spiritual beliefs combined with Christian practices in a type of creole religion. The adoption of many Christian practices was a

⁸¹ Compare Joyner's table of African day names in *Riverside*, 219 with the names of slaves listed in the 1786 inventory of Daniel Horry's estate.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 220.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 64; 121.

direct result of the missionary efforts of slave masters, who believed that teaching slaves Christian morality resulted in greater obedience on the part of the slaves and, therefore, greater control by the masters. Lowcountry planter Benjamin Allston wrote, "A minister of the Gospel, Methodist or Episcopalian or other as the case may be, visits a plantation once a fortnight, giving lessons in catechism to the children and preaching to the grown negroes. Numbers of them have joined the church, and to the best of their opportunity and ability practice a Christian life."⁸⁴

In St. James Santee Parish, slaves were confirmed into the white congregation's St. James Santee church, and during Harriott Rutledge's reign as mistress of Hampton, Harrietta, and Wambaw plantations, many of the family's slaves were confirmed. In January 1854, Isaac, a house servant at Wambaw, was confirmed, and Robert, Tom, and Sally of Harrietta were confirmed. The list of slave confirmations at St. James Santee church for March 18, 1855 reads: "Martha, Betty, Annis, Henry, Fibby, Hannah (Hampton), James, Benbo, Robert (Young), Flora, Letitia, Sarah, Sally, Hagar, Old Hagar, Ann all from Harrietta." Robert, Elizabeth, Ann, and Lear of the Harrietta plantation were also confirmed April 6, 1856.⁸⁵ Thus, the lives of the slaves of the Hampton/Harrietta community were a blend of lowcountry practices and African traditions.

⁸⁴ Allston, "Notes on the Management of a Southern Rice Estate," in Advice, 234.

⁸⁵ Anne Baker Leland Bridges and Roy Williams III, eds., St. James Santee Plantation Parish: History and Records, 1685-1925 (Spartanburg, S. C.: The Reprint Company, 1997). See vestry records.

CONCLUSION

Frederick Rutledge wrote to his brother in 1833: "I wish you better success than I have experienced -- After a slavery of eight years to a planters duties, I am worse off than when I began."⁸⁶ It is interesting to note that Frederick compared his life to that of his slaves. But Frederick never had to worry about being forcibly separated from his family, and although Frederick and his family members occasionally complained of the "burden" of managing and caring for the family's slaves, the daily toil of those slaves allowed the family to live in relative luxury. Without the labor of their slaves, the family would not have been able to achieve their elite status.

The Horry/Rutledge slaves were fortunate to have relatively benevolent masters and mistresses. When their labor was needed, they were often shifted between the family plantations, but until the family debts resulted in the sale of Harrietta and its 61 slaves, the slave community could be relatively secure in the knowledge that they would not be permanently separated from their loved ones. Generations of slave families spent their entire lives at the Hampton plantation despite changes in ownership. However, as those 61 slaves discovered, security could be torn away from them, and only emancipation could alleviate the fear of separation.

At the start of the Civil War, freedom was just a remote possibility. Many slaves throughout the South accompanied their masters into the Confederate Army as personal body servants, just as their ancestors had during the American Revolution. Henry Middleton Rutledge, who had bought Hampton from his father Frederick April 28, 1861, was a colonel in the Confederate Army and was accompanied by Peter Williamson, who

⁸⁶ Letter from Frederick Rutledge to Edward C. Rutledge 2 September 1833, as quoted in *Hidden Glory*, 79.

had been his body servant at Hampton. According to family tradition, after the battle of Antietam, "weakened by a wound and the onset of typhoid fever, [Henry Middleton Rutledge] would have been lost save for the courage of Peter . . . who had safely reached the Virginia shore, [but] returned under deadly fire to rescue the colonel."⁸⁷ Back in St. James Santee Parish, life was beginning to change for the lowcountry slaves. On May 22, 1862 a Union naval expedition traveled 10 miles up the Waccamaw River, and 80 fugitive slaves took refuge with the naval soldiers. "On June 24 a similar expedition up the Santee River enabled four hundred more slaves to escape."⁸⁸ The rice planters' lifestyle was doomed.

The Civil War brought an end to the Rutledge family's way of life and an end to many of the fears of the black people whose labor had supported that life. They no longer had to fear physical punishment or family separation. Some, like Peter Williamson, would remain in the area working on the same land their families had worked on as slaves. Census records for 1870 show that 28-year-old Peter Williamson, his 22-year-old wife Sibby, and their 1-year-old daughter Emma continued to live in St. James Santee Parish. No occupation or trade was listed for Williamson, but he was likely an agricultural laborer. Other former Hampton slaves exercised their freedom and left St. James Santee forever. Regardless of how many former slaves continued to work for the Rutledge family, life at the Hampton plantation would never be the same.

⁸⁷ Wheeler and Neblett, Hidden Glory, 111.

⁸⁸ Dusinberre, Days, 409.

APPENDIX 1
THE SLAVES OF HAMPTON

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Reference in Family Documents</u>
Big Hannah		Feb. 7, 1746	Bought by Daniel Horry from his parents.
		1786	Estate Inventory; if she is still alive, she is likely "Hannah, \$15"
Dillah		1746	Bought by DH from parents.
Florah		1746	Bought by DH from parents when still a girl.
		1786	Estate Inventory; value \$30.
Eve		1746	Bought by DH from parents.
Big Isaac		1746	Bought by DH from parents.
		1785	Daniel Horry's will; Big Isaac's family intended for son Daniel, not to be divided.
		1786	Estate Inventory; value \$40.
Isaac	House servant	1786	Estate Inventory; value \$100.
		1787	State Gazette. Notice that 23-year-old Isaac ran away.
Shaneoh		1746	Bought by DH from parents.
Cuffee		1746	Bought by DH from parents.
		1786	Estate Inventory; likely the "Cuffy" valued at \$40.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Reference in Family Documents</u>
Ned		1746	Bought by DH from parents, probably as a boy, possibly the brother of Toney.
		1786	Estate Inventory; value \$80.
		1799	In a letter to her mother, Harriott Rutledge mentions "old Ned."
Toney		1746	Bought by DH from parents, probably as a boy, possibly the brother of Ned.
		1786	Estate Inventory; value \$80.
Jacob		1746	Bought by DH from parents, probably as a boy.
		1786	Estate Inventory; value \$80.
Natt		1746	Bought by DH from parents, probably as a young boy.
		1786	Estate Inventory; value \$100.
Judy	Personal Servant	1784	Sold by Daniel Horry to his daughter Harriott, who was 14, for 5s. Judy still a girl.
Harry	Courier/ Key Slave	Mar. 1768	Letter from Eliza to D. Horry. Eliza uses Harry for information about the family at Hampton when he brings family letters.
		n.d., early 1770s	Letter from Eliza to Harriott. Eliza sends a letter with Harry.
		1778	Letter from Eliza to D. Horry. Harry again gives information.
		1786	Estate Inventory; value \$100.
John	Body Servant	Sept. 1780	Letter from Eliza to T. Pinckney. John was supposed to be with Thomas but was apparently ill.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Reference in Family Documents</u>
Moses	Body Servant	Sept. 1780	Letter from Eliza to T. Pinckney. John has returned to Thomas.
		Sept. 1780	Letter from Eliza to T. Pinckney. Moses was sent from Santee to Thomas.
		Sept. 1780	Letter from Eliza to T. Pinckney. Eliza asks Thomas to keep him.
Bob	House Servant	Oct. 1780	Letter from Eliza to T. Pinckney. Eliza again asks TP to keep him.
		Sept. 1780	Letter from Eliza to T. Pinckney. Eliza uses Bob as a personal servant while staying at Hampton. "A very good boy."
Flora	Washerwoman	1786	Estate Inventory; value \$80.
		Sept. 1780	Letter from Eliza to T. Pinckney. Harriott's Flora has joined the British camp in Camden, but she remains in contact with the family.
Nelly	House Servant	1786	Estate Inventory; value \$80.
		Nov. 1785	Letter from Harriott to Eliza. One of three slave women, presumably of the big house, described as "handy" and "willing."
Bella	House Servant	1786	Estate Inventory; one of two Nellys valued at \$40 and \$70, probably \$70.
		Nov. 1785	Letter from Harriott to Eliza. One of three slave women, presumably of the big house, described as "handy" and "willing."

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Reference in Family Documents</u>
		1786	Estate Inventory: one of two Bellas valued at \$30 and \$70, probably \$70.
(Big) Daphne	House Servant	Nov. 1785	Letter from Harriott to Eliza. One of three slave women, presumably of the big house, described as "handy" and "willing."
		1786	Estate Inventory; one of three Daphnes, valued at \$80, \$80, and \$90.
Daphne	House Servant	Nov. 1785	Letter from Harriott to Eliza. Daphne was with her mother in Charleston, but was to be sent to Hampton.
		1786	Estate Inventory; one of three Daphnes, valued at \$80, \$80, and \$90.
Onia		n.d.	Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott. The name is nearly illegible, but it is quite possibly Onia. Eliza says she cannot understand his English.
		1786	Estate Inventory; value \$80.
Ralph		n.d.	Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott. Ralph was being sent to Charleston from Santee to demonstrate his ability to cook.
		1786	Estate Inventory; value \$50.
George		1781	Letter from Daniel Horry to Eliza Pinckney. DH sends him to Eliza and asks her to have the doctor see him.
		1786	Estate Inventory; value only \$10.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Reference in Family Documents</u>
Old Dinah	House servant	n.d.	Pre-1785 letter from Eliza to Harriott. She came "up" to town.
		1786	Estate Inventory; she is likely "Binah", value \$25.
Sibb	House servant	1778	Letter from Eliza to Harriott. Sibb "taken with a fever" but took the cart into town.
Isaac	Carriageman	1815	Harriott's travel journal. He kept the carriage and horses when Harriott went by ship and met up with them on their return. Probably related to Big Isaac.
		1838	In a letter from Frederick Rutledge to his brother Edward, he mentions "Coachman Isaac."
Patty	House servant	1829	Letter from Frederick to Edward. Patty distressed about Paul.
		1838	Letter from Harriott Rutledge to her son Edward. Sends instructions for the household.
		1838	Letter to Edward Rutledge from his sister Harriott. Sends instructions for servants.
		1838	Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward asking him to have Patty give out brown sugar.
Paul		1829	Letter from Frederick to Edward. Paul being punished.
Old William		1832	Letter from Frederick to Edward. William has been ill.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Reference in Family Documents</u>
Sandy Driver		1835	Letter from Harriott Rutledge to her son Edward. Sandy "anxious" to begin work, presumably planting.
		1835	Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward. Sandy attending "everything."
Sabey	Plough man	1835	Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward. She has trained Sabey, Tom's brother, as a plough man and gives him to Edward as a "gift." He is 15.
		1835	Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward. Sandy starting Sabey on the plough.
Grace	House servant	1838	Letter from Harriott Rutledge to her son Edward. Sends instructions for household.
		1838	Letter to Edward Rutledge from his sister Harriott. Sends instructions for servants.
		1838	Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward in reference to slave clothing. Tells him to take her with him to hand it out.
Will	Tailor	1838	Letter to Edward Rutledge from his sister Harriott. Sends instructions for servants.
		1838	Letter from Frederick to Edward. He asks for Will to make him some clothes.
Old Moses	Carpenter	1838	Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward in reference to slave clothing.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Reference in Family Documents</u>
Stephen	Blacksmith	1838	Letter to Edward from Frederick. Mentions Blacksmith Stephen working with the carpenters.
Peter		1838	Letter to Edward from Frederick. Talks of sending him from town to Harrietta.
Pepper		1838	Letter to Edward from Frederick. Talks of sending him from town to Harrietta.
Peter	Body Servant	1860s	Accompanied Henry Middleton Rutledge to war. Went by the name Peter Williamson.

APPENDIX 2
EXCERPTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE

1. **Isaac** -- In 1783 Thomas Pinckney writes to Eliza Pinckney, "that I have received her favor by Isaac this morning and will act accordingly." (Pinckney Papers, 38-5-10, SCHS)

-- Posted in the State Gazette of South Carolina, Dec. 3, 1787:

"RUN-AWAY Yesterday from the house in Broad-Street,
"A SHORT THIN Negro Fellow, Named ISAAC, belonging to the estate of Daniel Horry, Esq; deceased, about 23 years of age, is very artful and sensible, but little or no dependence to be paid in what he says, had on the morning he went away, a blue jacket, but may since have changed his dress, as he carried with him a grey coat and sundry other clothes. . . . Any person giving information where he may be found, shall meet with a suitable reward by applying to R. Norris & Co., No. 1 Bedon's Alley."

2. **Harry** -- In a letter from Eliza Pinckney to Daniel Horry, Mar. 4, 1768, she writes: "I wrote to you and Harriott by Harry and hope your horses will get up well, they set out yesterday morning. I don't believe Harry would utter a sentence more than he is commissioned to do for the world. I asked him many questions, particularly about your wound and whether it was still bad but I could not get any thing out of him more than that it is a scratch, though Harriott calls it a deep gash; had the major such a servant I believe his secret never would have been discovered." (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-2-1, SCHS)

-- In a letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Horry, May 28, 1778, Eliza writes: "Harry tells me Mr. Horry goes to Pee Dee before he comes down. You don't tell me when you think to set out." (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-3-1, SCHS)

-- Upon her arrival at Hampton from Charleston in Nov. 1780, Harriott found her husband deathly ill. She wrote to her mother, "I send down Harry with horses to beg [Dr.] Trumball will come [*sic*] up" (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-6-1, SCHS)

-- In an undated letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Horry, Eliza writes: "I wont detain Harry to say any more" (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-16-5, SCHS)

3. **John** and **Moses** -- While staying at Hampton, Eliza wrote often to her son Thomas during the Revolution. In a letter dated Sept. 13, 1780 she writes to him: "I never heard my dear child that you were without your Servant till Capt. Mc--- came to town, (I hope poor faithful John is well) Moses was then at Santee so he would have been with you before. He promises to behave well, and I hope will be useful, he goes with Mr. Motte's Samson; by whom we had the pleasure to hear Betsey and the dear babe were well." (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-4-4, SCHS) See reference to Bob also.

Moses -- A month later Eliza writes to Thomas on Oct. 4, 1780: "I have not the least occasion for Moses, pray keep him as long as he can be of the least use to you." (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-4-? [not clearly numbered], SCHS)

4. **Flora** -- In the letter dated Sept. 13, 1780, Eliza wrote to her son Thomas: "Flora your Sister's washerwoman is at Camden, she will be of great service to you, if you can prevail with her to be with you, as she is very handy, and your Sister wishes you will imploy [sic] her; she did not join the British camp ill after the surrender of the town." (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-4-4, SCHS)

5. **Bob** -- While at Hampton, Eliza writes to Thomas on Sept. 17, 1780 that although John has returned to him, she wants Thomas to keep Moses also because she doesn't want him; she now has Bob, "a very good Boy he is." (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-4-6, SCHS)

6. **Daphne, Nelly, Bella, and Big Daphne** -- In a letter dated Nov. 1785, Harriott Horry writes to her mother Eliza upon her arrival at Hampton. Apparently, Daphne was to be sent to Hampton. "... there is not the least occasion to hurry Daphne from her mother as I find Nelly, Bella, and big Daphne so handy and so willing that I can do very well without the others." (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-6-1, SCHS) One of the **Daphnes** traveled "up" to Eliza another time. (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-16-5, SCHS)

7. **Ralph** -- In an undated (pre-1785) letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Horry, Eliza writes of her garden and writes: "Your people seem to behave orderly and quietly. Suppose you were to have Ralph up the next trip of the boat and try what he can do, I think he must know something of cooking now, if ever he does." (Pinckney Papers, 38-16-1, SCHS)

8. **Onia** [nearly illegible] -- In an undated (pre-1785) letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Horry, Eliza writes of this slave that he "says he understands English very well, but I think he speaks it very badly. I can't understand him." The name of the slave is hard to decipher, but it may be Onia, who was part of the Daniel Horry inventory. (Pinckney Papers, 38-16-1, SCHS)

9. **Old Dinah** -- In an undated (pre-1785) letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Horry, Eliza writes: "Old Dinah is come up much the same as you left her. The weather has been often bad that I did not send for her till yesterday." (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-16-5, SCHS)

10. **George** -- Daniel Horry writes to Eliza Pinckney April 4, 1781: "The bearer [of this letter] George has been a longtime complaining of a violent pain in his Head & Eyes, but no fever, he imagines that the Change of Air & a jaunt to Ch'Town will recover him. However I think we had better Consult Doctor Garden, & if he sees proper will give him some medicine. You will therefore oblige me to send the Negro to the Doct. an an Hour when you think he is most at leisure, if he is able he had better assist April in the garden,

& I think in about 14 or 15 days he may come up by the Return of Col. Harlestone's Schooner." (Pinckney Papers, 38-5-1? [letter number not clear], SCHS)

11. **Joe and Sogo** -- Daniel Horry posted in the South Carolina Gazette Feb. 14, 1771: "Runaway from the Subscriber, about two months since, two NEGRO MEN, named JOE and SOGO, (supposed to be harboured about Ashepoo) JOE is a young Fellow, about 22 Years of Age, and about 5 feet 6 Inches high; SOGO about 25 Years of Age, and about 6 Feet high. Any person who will apprehend and deliver both, or either of the above Negroes to the Warden of the Work-House, or to me at Santee, shall receive TEN POUNDS Currency, for each." Neither slave is listed in the 1786 inventory of the Horry estate.

12. **Sibb** -- She is not listed in Daniel Horry's inventory, so she was possibly owned by Eliza Pinckney, who wrote in a letter to Harriott Horry May 28, 1778: "Sibb was taken with a fever two days ago but it is luckily off this morning, and she went in the cart to town, had it not been off, it would have distressed me a good deal to have left her so ill, and I am obliged to be in town about the taxes this week." (Pinckney Papers, Letter 38-3-1, SCHS)

13. **Isaac** -- In Harriott Horry's 1815 travel journal he is mentioned several times. At one point he was ill. He kept the carriage and horses while Harriott's party traveled farther North to New England. He met up with them again in New York on their return South. (Harriott Ravenel Papers, SCHS)

-- June 1, 1838, Frederick Rutledge wrote to his brother Edward: "tell Coachman Isaac to send the empty barrels." (Quoted on pg. 85, *Hidden Glory*)

14. **Patty** -- In a letter dated Dec. 15, 1829, Frederick Rutledge writes to his brother Edward that "Patty seems to be very much distressed about Paul," who had been put to work in the fields. (Rutledge Family Papers 1826-32, SCL)

-- Harriott Rutledge wrote to Edward Mar. 19, 1838: "... do tell Patty that capers are in the passage closet, and in the Press in the School room; mustard in the Store room." Patty and Grace were to get the house ready for company. (Rutledge Family Papers, SCL)

-- Spring 1838, Edward's sister Harriott wrote to him: "Ask maum Patty to put up the parlour carpet in leaf tobacco which we must get from George." (Rutledge Family Papers, SCL)

-- April 14, 1838, Harriott Rutledge wrote to Edward in reference to giving out the slaves' summer clothes. She also wrote: "I will be much obliged to you to make Patty get out a large box of [brown sugar] to give to the women when you give the tobacco to the men." (Rutledge Family Papers, SCL)

15. **Paul** -- A letter dated Dec. 15, 1829 from Frederick Rutledge to Edward implies that Paul was a house servant who had been sent to the fields as punishment for some offense: "I think that his punishment has been sufficient for his offence -- I am always anxious to

keep my word even to the mos humble. I told Paul some time since that if he behaved himself well he should be replaced, his having passed to your orders has prevented me from doing so. I would willingly supply his place in the field by one of my own hands & I have been deterred from making the offer solely by the belief that it would not be acceptable -- I have taken the trouble to put this on paper in order that you may see that the value of my promise in this instance depends upon yourself." (Rutledge Family Papers 1826-32, SCL)

16. **Old William** -- Letter from Frederick Rutledge at Hampton to Edward, Mar. 8, 1832: ". . . Old William has been very sick with the influenza, he is perhaps a little better, but appears to be to use his own phrase 'much worsted.'" (Rutledge Family Papers 1826-32, SCL)

17. **Sandy** -- Harriott Rutledge wrote to son Edward from Hampton Jan. 13, 1835: "As the weather is once more mild, Old Sandy is anxious to begin his services for you, and therefore goes to Town this evening in the Schooner. I have said all I could to perswaid [*sic*] him to have Old Lucy, but he is eloquent in his own cause, and he says my Master is so good he would not desire me to part at this time of day." (Rutledge Family Papers, SCL)

-- Harriott Rutledge wrote to son Edward March 1835: ". . . Becky spoke to old Sandy while I was there, and arranged with him to attend to Every thing and he is to start Sabey on the plough this afternoon. . . ." (Rutledge Family Papers, SCL)

18. **Sabey** -- Harriott Rutledge wrote to son Edward from Hampton Jan. 13, 1835: "I have a young Lad about 15 years old, well disposed, a brother of Tom who I gave to Harriott and I have had him taught to plough and by the beginning of the next month I think he will have completed his trade as a plough Man. I have had him trained for you, and I rely on him to do you some good. I wish to send you a gift for these people **Sandy** and **Sabey** for Life is as we well know most uncertain, but have no form here" (Rutledge Family Papers, SCL)

19. **Grace** -- Patty and Grace were to get the house ready for company. Harriott Rutledge wrote to Edward Mar. 19, 1838: ". . . I will thank you to desire Grace to have the 2 front chambers got ready" (Rutledge Family Papers, SCL)

-- Spring 1838, Edward's sister Harriott wrote to him: "Mama wishes you would send Grace . . . to her by Kerrison who will be up in a few days" (Rutledge Family Papers, SCL)

-- April 14, 1838, Harriott Rutledge wrote to Edward in reference to giving out the slaves' summer clothes. She told him, "if you take Grace with you, she knows how I arrange things." (Rutledge Family Papers, SCL)

20. **Stephen** -- In a letter to his brother Frederick Oct. 25, 1838, Edward writes that at Harrietta & Waterhan, "the carpenters' work was *very backward* owing to the sickness of

Howe & Blacksmith Stephen who usually works with the carpenters during the summer." (Quoted in *Hidden Glory*, pg. 92)

22. **Pepper** and **Peter** -- In a letter to his brother Frederick Oct. 25, 1838, Edward writes: "now it appears to me that Pepper & Peter might be sent to Harrietta & be more usefully employed on the plantation than in town." (Quoted in *Hidden Glory*, pg. 92)

23. **Will** -- In a postscript to a letter dated Oct. 25, 1838, Frederick Rutledge writes to his brother Edward: "My wardrobe is both short and scant -- if tailor Will is not otherwise engaged he can make two pair of trousers and one coat for me & send them by one of the Santee Coasters." (Quoted in *Hidden Glory*, pg. 93)

24. **Peter** -- During the Civil War, when Henry Middleton Rutledge served in the Confederate Army as a colonel, he was accompanied by Peter, his body servant from the Hampton plantation. After Antietam, "weakened by a wound and the onset of typhoid fever, [Henry Middleton Rutledge] would have been lost save for the courage of Peter Williamson . . . who had safely reached the Virginia shore, returned under deadly fire to rescue the colonel." (*Hidden Glory*, pg. 111)

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